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Canadas, now Ontario and Quebec, and the early operation of responsible government. After Lord Elgin's time, however, the government was gradually brought to a dead-lock through the mutual entanglement of party and racial forces, which completely frustrated the normal operation of the political party system, and consequently of responsible cabinet government. In his treatment of this period, Professor Egerton has devoted more attention to the great economic and social problems, such as trade, transportation and education, which, though always vital factors in Canadian history, at this period bulk more largely in the usual historic records. In chapter six, due attention is given to the conditions and negotiations which resulted ultimately in confederation and the establishment of the Dominion of Canada. This is appropriately followed by another chapter on the later development of the Northwest which, when added to federated Canada, rounded out the Dominion to its present dimensions. As this was finally accomplished through the inclusion of British Columbia in 1871, book II. closes with that date.

Book III., confined to the last seventy pages, deals very briefly with the Dominion of Canada from 1871 to the present time. Here we find merely an outline of such matters as the relations between Canada and the United States, including boundaries, reciprocal trade, and fisheries; the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway; the tariff and protection. The relations between provincial and Dominion powers are passed in review, and the closing chapter of the volume gives a glimpse of present-day conditions.

A number of maps are distributed through the volume; but those purporting to represent the railways of the Dominion are most misleading. According to these there is in Canada but one railway and its connections—the Canadian Pacific Railway.

ADAM SHORTT.

[Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique] : *Département du Loiret, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Orléans pour les États Généraux de 1789.* Publié par CAMILLE BLOCH. Tomes I.-II. (Orléans: Imprimerie Orléanaise. 1907. Pp. lxxvi, 800, and ii, 515); *Département de la Marne, Cahiers de Doléances pour les États Généraux de 1789.* Publié par GUSTAV LAURENT. Tome I. *Bailliage de Châlons-sur-Marne.* (Épernay: Imprimerie Henri Villers. 1906. Pp. xxxii, 872); *Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Cahiers de Doléances des Bailliages des Généralités de Metz et de Nancy pour les États Généraux de 1789.* 1^{re} Série, Tome I. *Cahiers du Bailliage de Vic.* Publié par CHARLES ÉTIENNE. (Nancy: Imprimerie Berger-Levrault et Cie. 1907. Pp. xxxvi, 775);

Département de la Manche, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Cotentin (Coutances et Secondaires) pour les États Généraux de 1789. Publiéés par ÉMILE BRIDREY. Tomes I.-II. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1907. Pp. 808 and 806); *Département de la Charente, Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée d'Angoulême et du Siège Royal de Cognac pour les États Généraux de 1789.* Publiéés par P. BOISSONNADE. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1907. Pp. 555.)

IN December 1903 a commission composed of well-known historians was appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction in France to undertake the publication of the sources relating to the economic history of the French Revolution. The objects and organization of this important enterprise, originally conceived and promoted by the well-known socialist, M. Jaurès, have been described by one of its leading members, M. Caron, in a recent issue of this REVIEW.¹ The chief attention of the commission has hitherto been directed to the publication of the *cahiers* of 1789, a celebrated mass of material of which only a very small portion, and that badly edited, has hitherto been available for students of the period. It will be remembered that the order convoking the Estates General, issued January 24, 1789, provided that the well-nigh obsolete *bailliages* (or *sénéchaussées*, as they were termed in parts of the kingdom), which had served as election districts when the estates last met in 1614, should not only send their deputies to Versailles but should draw up *le cahier de leurs plaintes et doléances*. The *cahiers*, Chérest surmises, were in the eyes of the government only a part of the ancient routine. Mounier went so far as to declare them an instrument of despotism, since they only served to assuage the growing discontent by permitting the people to pour out fruitless expostulations to which the king's ministers need pay no attention whatever. The task of drafting them was, however, taken very seriously on the whole throughout the kingdom and the desire the king had expressed that those even in the most remote and obscure regions of his realm should make their wishes and their grievances known to him was generously gratified. Voters belonging to the clergy and nobility were to appear in person or through representatives at the meeting held by each order in the "chief" *bailliages*, there to select deputies to the Estates General and to draft a *cahier* to be taken to Versailles. There are but seventy-five chief *bailliages* enumerated in the instructions issued by the government, January 24, 1789; accordingly, if we make no allowance for the numerous later modifications and inevitable anomalies, the *cahiers* of the privileged classes would not exceed one hundred and fifty. Those

¹ Volume XIII. 501ff. See also his more elaborate articles in *La Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, VI. 443ff, and VIII. 545ff. The activities of the commission and its successive circular instructions are carefully given in the well-known periodical, *La Révolution Française*.

drafted by the Third Estate had a far more complicated history and their number is variously estimated to have been forty or fifty thousand. Each parish, village and town was ordered to hold its primary assembly and draft its cahier. Some one hundred and forty larger places were enumerated in which the assembly which was to draft the cahier was to be composed of delegates chosen by the various corporations, industrial and otherwise. Although they were not explicitly required to do so, many of the corporations and guilds seized the opportunity to draw up each its particular cahier, which was later to be fused with the others into the general cahier of the town. To add to the complexity, many of the bailliages were classified as "secondary". Each of these held its own assembly of the delegates from the towns and parishes within bounds and fused the local cahiers into one, which was later taken to the assembly of the chief bailliage there to be fused with those of the other secondary bailliages and that of the chief bailliage.

To illustrate the situation we may take the contents of the two volumes that M. Bloch has prepared of the cahiers of the bailliage of Orleans. There are (1) the cahiers of the one hundred and sixty-nine parishes of the chief bailliage and of its five towns, excluding the city of Orleans itself. Next come (2) the cahiers of the forty-eight corporations of the city of Orleans—the several groups of local administrative officers, judges, lawyers, notaries, the university, the medical school, the Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, the apothecaries, printers, grocers, goldsmiths, tailors, cordwainers, butchers, bakers, boatmen of the Loire, etc., ending with the "habitants libres" who were not enrolled in any corporation. Representatives of these bodies together with those of four urban parishes, all bringing their appropriate cahiers, met to draw up the cahier of the city. This had later to be taken to a meeting of the deputies from the neighboring towns and rural parishes and combined with their cahiers into (3) the cahier of the chief bailliage. (4) In each of the six secondary bailliages an assembly was held for the consolidation of the cahiers submitted by the various villages and towns. The primary cahiers of the secondary bailliages are, however, M. Bloch believes, lost. Lastly (5) the cahiers of the chief bailliage and of the six secondary bailliages were combined into the definitive cahier of the Third Estate of Orleans to be presented, along with that of the clergy and of the nobility, to the king by the deputies chosen to sit in the Estates General at Versailles.

The first serious attempt to print the cahiers was made by the editors of the *Archives Parlementaires*. Partial as is this collection it fills over five large volumes, printed in double columns.² The editors ordinarily

² *Archives Parlementaires*, I.-VII. (1868-1875). Volume I. is devoted mainly to a general introduction to the French Revolution. Volume VII. is an analytical index where one will find, pp. 10-28, a list of all the cahiers that the editors included—and they claim to have included *intégralement* all that they could find. A second unimproved edition appeared in 1879. Considerable numbers of the cahiers were printed separately in 1789.

give only the three definitive cahiers of each chief bailliage, but a few of the parish cahiers—especially those coming from around Paris and from the neighborhood of Aix—are given, as well as several of those drawn up by the corporations. But the list of even the definitive cahiers is very incomplete. Brette estimates that from the provinces of Provence, Lorraine, the Three Bishoprics and Brittany no less than one hundred and seventeen are wanting. The edition is moreover cheerfully innocent of scholarship and its defects have been frequently pointed out.³ Since the appearance of this inadequate edition individuals and historical societies have undertaken here and there to print collections of primary cahiers. The most recent and successful enterprise of this character is that of MM. A. de Saint-Léger and Ph. Sagnac, who with the aid of a local society at Dunkirk issued two volumes in 1906 containing the cahiers of Flandre Maritime, with introduction and notes. Chassin has also contributed an elaborate study of the elections and cahiers of Paris.⁴ The way was smoothed for the particular task we have under consideration by A. Brette's admirable *Collection of Documents relating to the Convocation of the Estates General in 1789*.⁵ This is re-enforced by an atlas of the electoral districts.⁶

The commission for the publication of the sources for the economic history of the French Revolution carefully formulated the rules to be observed in the editing of the cahiers, and issued them in a circular addressed to the various local committees, April 5, 1905.⁷ In order to exclude from the collections the numerous private lists of grievances and the protests of dissatisfied minorities and other unauthorized bodies a cahier was defined as one drawn up by a regularly summoned assembly. A committee in each department is to be responsible for the publication, according to the rules laid down by the central committee, of the cahiers of the various bailliages, primary and secondary, of which the chief seat lay within the present boundaries of the department. A few only

³ For example, by Brette, "Les Cahiers de 1789 et les Archives Parlementaires", in *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLVII. (1904), pp. 5ff. He accuses the editors of including "sans ordre et sans méthode, dans les six volumes, les cahiers définitifs avec les cahiers des paroisses, les cahiers de corporations avec ceux de bailliages secondaires, sans parler des faux cahiers et des cahiers de particuliers sans mandat".

⁴ *Les Elections et les Cahiers de Paris en 1789* (1888–1889), 4 vols. (in the *Collection de Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de Paris*). Partial lists of the private undertakings of this class may be found in the admirable volume by Edme Champion, *La France d'après les Cahiers de 1789* (1897), pp. 7–8, and in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VIII, 802–803.

⁵ *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux en 1789* (1894–1904), 3 vols., with a fourth volume in preparation.

⁶ *Atlas des Bailliages ou Juridictions Assimilées ayant formé Unité Électorale en 1789* (Paris, 1904 fol.). This like the *Recueil* forms a part of the great series of *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*.

⁷ *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLVIII. (1905), pp. 353ff. These directions were supplemented by the circular of June 13, 1907, *ibid.*, LV. 73ff.

of the volumes which have thus far been issued under the auspices of the central commission are printed by the National Printing Office at Paris; most are issued from Orleans, Lyons, Nancy, Épernay. While there is a strong family resemblance and they are of the same size—large octavo, with a page somewhat shorter than that of this journal—the various members of the series differ in print, headings, even in the size of the page, differences which are of slight moment but which plainly indicate the decentralizing policy of the commission which has doubtless very wisely apportioned the divisions of their laborious enterprise among the numerous departmental committees. The successive issues are unfortunately not even serially numbered, so that a librarian may well be somewhat uncertain whether he has a complete set to date.

The introductions to the volumes are devoted not only to the technical questions relating to the number and nature of the documents at the editor's disposal but to the economic conditions prevailing in the region under consideration. Indeed M. Bloch furnishes a formal *Esquisse d'un Tableau de l'Etat Économique* of the bailliage of Orleans. In the brief introductions to the individual cahiers or in foot-notes more specific information is given—the number of hearths or of inhabitants in the village or town, the amount of the *taille* and tithe, the cost of labor, etc. Naturally the minutes of the assemblies which drafted the cahiers are given. These are commonly brief and formal and seemingly of minor importance except as establishing the authenticity of the cahier. MM. Bloch and Boissonnade have set the example of supplying very elaborate analytical tables at the end of their collections which enable the student to discover quickly in the maze of texts the references to the particular institution or abuse in which he may be interested. Repetition is avoided as far as possible. Where cahiers were copied from one another or from a common model only the variants are indicated. M. Bloch gives in his introduction to the cahiers of Orleans the various models and pamphlets which appear to have influenced the formulation of the people's grievances. It is a striking fact that a great many of the cahiers have disappeared, seemingly forever; but there is no reason to suppose that the "sensation", as Boissonnade calls it, of the economic life of the time which one may hope to experience upon reading the thousands of *gravamina* and suggestions for reform that are to be included in the present collection, would be essentially modified by the discovery of the thousands that are gone.

Among the matters discussed by the editors is that of the general value and reliability of the parish and town cahiers. A number of serious historians have felt that the data derived from this source was practically worthless. The most confident in his depreciation of the use of the cahiers as serious sources is the German writer Wahl who believes, with M. Héricault, that the Revolution was wholly gratuitous and that the cahiers were but the instrument of unscrupulous agitators

intent upon inciting the peasants to murder and pillage.⁸ This doctrine —by no means new—naturally rouses the republican ardor of those interested in the enterprise we have under consideration. Brette regards the cahiers as a sort of moral inventory of France at the close of the Ancien Régime and holds that by revealing the terrible disorder they constitute the most striking justification of the Revolution.⁹ The fairest and most comprehensive review of the whole matter is perhaps that of Sagnac.¹⁰ Allowing for all exaggerations of style he believes that the more carefully the cahiers are studied and compared with other sources of information the more does one's respect for them grow. Wahl, it may be remarked, based his conclusions on the few local cahiers included in the *Archives Parlementaires*. Boissonnade emerging from long intimate contact with the cahiers themselves says, "Si le bourgeois, le légiste, le lettré, ont tenu la plume, c'est l'artisan, c'est le paysan qui ont presque toujours dicté." As he ran through the cahiers, "au spectacle de leurs incorrections naïves, de leur gaucherie, de leur pittoresque orthographie, il n'est guère possible", he concludes, "de soutenir qu'ils ne sont pas, pour la majeure part, l'oeuvre réelle des assemblées populaires, qu'ils n'expriment pas à la fois les griefs particuliers de la bourgeoisie en même temps que ceux du peuple des villes et des campagnes."¹¹

Modern England: a Record of Opinion and Action from the Time of the French Revolution to the Present Day. In two volumes. By ALFRED WILLIAM BENN. (London: Watts and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 250; x, 251–519.)

It was by no means a slight task that Mr. Benn undertook when he began to write the history of opinion and action in England in the 118 years between 1789 and 1907. During the years while he was engaged on his *Modern England*, his work was complicated and made more difficult by the appearance of volume after volume of memoirs and biography, and of such able reviews of recent English history as that of Sir Spencer Walpole in his *History of Twenty-five Years* and that of Messrs. Low and Sanders in the twelfth volume of the *Political History of England*. Could Mr. Benn have recommenced his work after the publication of the biographies of Graham and Durham, Lytton and Lord Randolph Churchill, of the queen's *Letters* and Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, it is conceivable that he would very considerably have modified some

⁸ *Die Notabelnversammlung von 1787* (1899), and *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Französischen Revolution* (1901).

⁹ *La Révolution Française*, XLVII. 6.

¹⁰ "Les Cahiers de 1789 et leur Valeur" in *La Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, vol. VIII. (1906–1907), pp. 329ff. Onou ("La Valeur des Cahiers de 1789", in *La Révolution Française*, vol. XLIX. (1905), pp. 385ff.) agrees with Sagnac that the cahiers are highly subjective and that the peasants' statistics where they cannot be controlled must be taken with caution.

¹¹ *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée d'Angoulême*, pp. 8, 12.